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WOMEN IN POWER AND DECISION-MAKING */

Note by the ECE secretariat

Introduction

The global platform agreed at Beijing in 1995 calls for specific action by governments to increase the presence of women in all forms of decision making. Policies should include mainstreaming and monitoring of women's interests and presence in order to plan for future action. In the area of women's representation two key strategic objectives are to be met. Governments agreed to take measures to ensure women's equal access to and full participation in power structures and decision making (strategic objective G1) and to increase women's capacity to participate in decision making and leadership (strategic objective G2). The logic of the two strategic objectives is to increase both demand for women representatives (G1) and the supply of women able to become decision-makers (G2) until a critical mass is reached. The strategic thinking is of an interactive process in which a new equilibrium of men's and women's representation should be achieved after which a substantial presence of both sexes in decision making will seem natural and will be self sustaining.

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Part I. WOMEN IN DECISION-MAKING IN THE WESTERN PART OF THE ECE REGION

An overall review of the political status of women in this part of the ECE region shows that (1) there is a persistent pattern of decreasing numbers of women as decision making hierarchies are ascended and (2) a functional division of labour between women and men whereby women are more likely to specialise in soft policy areas such as health, cultural affairs, education, social security, while men dominate the traditionally more prestigious areas of economic management, foreign affairs, defence and home affairs is apparent in most political elites.

Two opposing perspectives have been suggested to explain these divisions. On the one hand it is claimed that there is an 'iron law' of politics in which the proportions of women decrease as the hierarchy of power is ascended. (1) On the other hand it is argued that new mobilisations of voters take time to establish a presence in decision-making hierarchies. Actually these two trends coexist and demonstrate the dramatic need for strong action aiming at political involvement of women in decision-making at a time when new legislation are voted an a daily basis, new political structures are being established and new policies are implemented.

1. Patterns of Change in Elected Office

Before describing recent patterns it is necessary to specify ideal goals and targets. Within the overall objective of equal participation of women and men in decision making, it is accepted that the approximate critical mass of women's presence is about 30 per cent. Crucial is critical mass in the legislature, which normally comprises the 'pool of eligibles' for government.

1.1 Women in National Legislatures

In 1990 only 4 Western European countries reached the 30% threshold of women deputies in their national legislatures: Finland, Norway, Denmark and Sweden. Almost 10 years after, only three other countries have also reached this threshold: the Netherlands, Germany and Iceland. In the German case, progress was the result of affirmative action policy, particularly in the main winning political parties, where a quota of 40 per cent women candidates was adopted in 1988. A similar situation in Great Britain led to a significant increase of women in the House of Commons after 1997 (from 9.2 per cent to 18), and the appointment of five women to the 22 member cabinet. Arguably the quotas left in their wake an increased supply of potential women candidates and increasing pressure for further increases of women. There is a general pattern of increase in most countries of this part of the ECE region during the 1990s, even if the progress remains slow and reversals occurred (e.g. Italy and Norway).

1.2 Local and regional assemblies.

Similar trends are observed for elected assemblies at the local and regional levels. In countries where progress has been made in the national legislature or public appointments, change has been more variable at these levels despite apparently similar policies. For example, in the Netherlands, council level proportions of women have remained uncharged for the last three elections; female councillors experience high levels of turnover and often leave office during their first term. These figures run well behind achievements at national level while a target of five per cent increase in women's presence per election is now established for all elected bodies. In France women were 21.7 % of local councillors and 7.6% of mayors by 1995; increases at this level appear to run behind the pattern of increase in the National Assembly.

2. Party politics

2.1. The role of political parties in increasing women's representation.

It is difficult to overstate the importance of political parties in an analysis of changes in women's representation. Political parties are the crucial channels to elected office. The systems are characterised by some form of party government and parties guard jealously their monopoly of the selection of candidates for elected office, particularly for the national legislatures. Although voters choose candidates they do so only after political parties have limited the options.

Electoral systems may be matters for government but candidate selection rules are made inside political parties. Repeated studies of sex and voting indicate that the predominance of men in electoral office is not the result of voting in general elections but of party nomination practices. Voters express party preferences; hence it is voters who determine the composition of elected assemblies.

In all countries under discussion political parties have been the central institutions in increasing women's representation, Where political parties have not acted, improvements have been limited or non existent. Hence when attempting to change rules to ensure the election of women, it is essential to change rules inside parties. The policy problem is to give parties incentives to nominate women. The incentives may need to be powerful as changes in recruitment practices can upset organisational equilibria by threatening incumbents and overturning the expectations of their designated inheritors.

A number of studies indicate that explicit nominating procedures offer better opportunities for women than informal procedures, probably because rule driven procedures are more easily learned and challenged, However progress has seldom

been automatic. Without mobilisation to increase women's representation, party gatekeepers do not try to nominate more women. (2)

Parties operate according to the constraints of various institutional mechanisms that may be more or less favourable to women. Two such institutions are the electoral system and the state equality machinery. Certain electoral systems are associated with better opportunities for women. There is now considerable evidence that; although there is no necessary relationship, women are more likely to increase their representation in Proportional Representation systems than they are in majoritarian systems. However, not all proportional electoral systems benefit women: much depends on the type of proportional system especially the means of translating votes into seats, and, most important of all, the will of political leaders and the mobilisation of women.(3)

2.2. Policies on Electoral Representation at local and national levels

Many West European countries have specific policies to increase women's presence in the various arenas of decision making. But the strength of their polices is variable, ranging from rhetorical statements of intention to clearly stated and studiously implemented targets and quotas. The process of increasing women's representation has typically been driven by women making claims on political systems especially in political parties but also in NGOs such as women's organisations of various kinds. Sometimes strong policies are reversed by changes of government or leaderships, action that is possible because there is insufficient mobilisation in support of positive action. But such reversals may lead to more effective mobilisation in the medium or long term. For example, Great Britain, France and Italy feature growing movements in favour of positive action. In Italy the government in power is currently revisiting the overturned electoral quotas policy. In 1999, following ten years of women's mobilisation, the French National Assembly amended the constitution to include a clause stating that the law 'must favour the equal access of women and men to elected office.'

The momentum built up by wide ranging movements in support of equal rights did not by itself secure changes in party policies. Political parties moved on women's issues when they came under electoral pressure. Mobilisation that explicitly targets political representation has been effective in many countries. Such mobilisations must, in the party political context of Western Europe operate around party organisations, although there is a role for non - partisan campaigning organisations in raising public awareness, indeed this form of activity by NGOs is specifically recommended in the 1994 Action Plan of the Inter-Parliamentary Union (4).

3. Women's participation in governments and appointed bodies.

3.1. National Government

Whatever the constitutional arrangements, the core of decision making in each country is the executive branch of government, that is the cabinet and/or presidency and the senior civil service. Increases in the presence of women at this level of decision making accompany and often exceed increases in their presence in legislatures.

In Western Europe the pattern of women's share in government varies considerably with a range from 7 per cent in Greece to 44 per cent in Sweden. Strong policies and the political coverage of some Prime Ministers in nominating their governments produced very good results in such countries as Sweden (the first "parity government" in 1994), France (1997), Italy (1998) and Germany (1999).

In those countries but also some others, there are many proportions of women appointed to government positions exceeding their presence in the legislature. It is important that women in such circumstances do not depend only on patronage powers of the Prime Minister and have the political base necessary to fully use the powers attached to their ministerial area of responsibility.

3.2. Public Appointments

Quotas and targets have also been part of policies to increase women's presence in different appointed offices notably the senior Civil Service and Public Appointments to the various quangos, commissions and committees that are characteristic of contemporary European government. The policies are targeted differently in different places. In 1997 the Dutch government passed Advisory Bodies Framework Act according to which a legal requirement was made to equalise the representation of women on advisory bodies. The initial effect has been to increase dramatically the presence of women on newly created bodies. Strong action was also taken in Sweden where targets of 50 per cent women in public bodies by 1998 led to an increase in women's presence from 16 per cent in 1986 to 40 per cent in 1996. Similar legislation was enacted in Finland, Denmark and Norway where the introduction of quotas and targets accelerated increases of women in public appointments. Since 1993 Italy has had a law requiring that women must be at least 1/3 of the members of the commissions in charge of civil service promotions. Italian regional commissions oversee laws on equal opportunities in public administration, equality advocates at all levels who oversee political action and municipal equality boards.

Weaker forms of action appear to yield weaker results. In Great Britain each Department of State is required to produce plans and targets to meet this goal of 50% women's share in Public Appointments. But in the absence of sanctions, progress is slow: between 1992 and 1997 the proportion of women holding public appointments increased from 26 per cent to 32 per cent. In Germany women's share of public appointments increased from 7.2 per cent in 1991 to 12.2 per cent in 1998.

In most countries, dramatic action would be necessary if women are to achieve decision making positions in proportion to their presence in the population. Moreover, formal policies on equality of representation are not necessarily an indication that representation is changing.

In established bodies, male incumbency continues to be a widespread obstacle to the speedy equalisation of women's share of public appointments and senior civil service posts. Such equalization is easier in the case of new committees when the number of members of the existing appointed bodies is enlarged.

This overview of the political status of women in the western part of the ECE region suggests that certain political processes are necessary to ensure increased women's representation in decision making. First women must mobilise, particularly within political parties. Second, policies to accelerate and enhance women's access to channels of recruitment and to decision making must be made and implemented. Such action should take place in a context of increased general levels of education, good childcare provision and, probably, rising levels of paid employment for women. Under such circumstances the supply of women candidates will rise, they will feel welcome in the political world and their recruitment will be facilitated. At the same time, rising demand for women will be ensured by positive action such as quotas and targets. A virtuous circle of supply and demand increases will lead to increases in the number of women decision-makers until parity is reached and the 'lag' hypothesis is confirmed. Where this circle cannot be established, most often because demand mechanisms cannot be put in place, the 'iron law' hypothesis will be confirmed.

Part II. WOMEN IN DECISION-MAKING IN THE CEE AND CIS COUNTRIES.

This part of the note attempts to present trends and underlying causes of women's status in political and public life in Central and Eastern Europe, the Baltic Republics, Southeastern Europe and CIS countries. Section 1 focuses on electoral politics and Section 2 reviews women's status in appointed governmental posts. Both sections discusses trends, underlying causes and points to positive developments and good practices. Finally Section 3 points to the role and incidence of NGOs on women's participation in public life.

1. Electoral Politics

While the representation of women in electoral politics has changed over the last 10 years, and does show an upward trend, nevertheless it remains low. Women in the region tend to be represented in higher numbers in local elected posts rather then as holders of parliamentary seats. The limited data on public opinion show that citizens are increasingly more supportive of women's participation in politics, with women also showing much greater support of women candidates, although important differences between countries do exist. In some countries there is a debate regarding compulsory measures such as quotas, parity thresholds or equality laws but most often citizens as well as politicians are not supportive of their institutionalisation.

1.1. Parliaments

1.1.1. Trends

With the establishment of new political systems in the former communist countries, the level of women's participation in parliaments has drastically changed. After initial, very low results in the first round of parliamentary elections in the early 90s, an upward trend in number of elected women deputies can be noticed. However the pattern is very diversified. Apart from the Baltic States, where women occupy an average 15 - 17 % of the seats, placing them above the average rate of western European countries and closest to Scandinavian countries, the percentage varies from 1,4 to 15, with Croatia reaching 20% at the recent elections for the Lower Chamber (see the table attached). Over the past 5 years the most significant progress has been registered in Lithuania (10,4%) and Azerbaijan (+10,0%), while decrease occurred in Kyrgyzstan (- 3,4%) and Hungary (-3,1).

In the majority of countries in the region women who decide to enter political contests have less chance of winning (e.g. in 1998 in Hungary 14% of women were candidates and 8% won seats) but there are also occasional signs that this is changing (in Poland, in 1998 parliamentary elections women represented 10.4% candidates and 12% gained seats in the Sejm (Lower House).

1.1.2. Causes

Research and analysis point out to diverse causes of the limited participation of women in the national level political institutions. Chief among them being cited are: 1) introduction of multi-party elections; 2) lack of positive measures; 3) reluctance of political parties to place women on the electoral list; 4) distance placement of women candidates on party lists; 5) lack of women's interest in male dominated "high" level politics as demonstrated by a reluctance to run for political office (politics is foreign and of little immediate interest), 6) existence of stereotypes regarding the electorate's

attitudes towards women politicians (e.g. citizens, especially men, do not want to vote for women); 7) a lower success rate discourages women from participating and political parties from backing them; 8) re-emergence of patriarchal values and relegation of women to private sphere; 9) belief that women's issues are not pressing enough and they do not deserve immediate attention, therefore "first a stable democratic system need to be developed"; 10) lack of political experiences, knowledge and awareness among women; and 11) lack of networks and informal ties that would provide women with necessary support system.

The persistent existence of gendered conceptions of leadership combined with a culture of politics that is historically masculine (dominated by men from dominant ethnic groups) has been repeatedly implicated as at the roots of women's marginalization in parliamentary politics. A caution is called for therefore when accepting and interpreting above forces as major causes. The danger lies in misreading symptoms of the problem for its roots and missing an opportunity to disclose the actual causes.

1.1.3. Positive developments and good practice

Diverse groups in the region have begun to recognise limited women's participation in parliamentary politics. This resulted in the development of various proposals for new strategies and actions. This is the case of countries such as Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Kyrgyzstan, and Russia, which, in their national action plans recognise the need for promoting public debate through research, sensitisation and communication. Similarly there seems to be increasingly greater understanding that positive measures should be implemented (discussed in Croatia, Czech Republic, Latvia, Lithuania and Poland), with some countries arguing in their support only when seen as a temporary measure (e.g. Central Asian Republics, Poland). The failed attempts (such as in Croatia) indicate that when considered for the implementation, positive measures require extensive education efforts among politicians and public.

In a number of countries political training, education and mentoring programs for diversified groups of women are being developed by governments and political parties, but above all, by NGOs. Along this line, Kyrgyzstan's national plan of action proposed the creation of a formalised way of mentoring by establishment of a political leadership school for women. Finally mechanisms for on-going dialogue and consultations within parliaments (between different parties) and between parliaments and formal and informal women's groups have been established (e.g. Poland) or proposed (e.g. by Albanian NGOs, *Czech Republic*, Kazakhstan).

1.2. Local and Regional Government

1.2.1. Trends

With almost all countries of the region implementing decentralisation reforms the role of local government a gained new significance that was not present during the communist regimes. In most countries of the region at least two (and in some cases even three) rounds of local elections have taken place since transition began, and women have made steady gains in local electoral politics. The initial low representation achieved in the first round (e.g. for Central and Eastern Europe it was 9-11%) has subsequently increased, and reached as high as 39% during the third round of elections (Latvia). While there is no uniform pattern in the region an increasing number of countries are above 20% .(Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Republic of Moldova, Slovakia).

Women are not so prominent as mayors as they are as councillors. On the average these rates are not higher then 10-13%. In the countries where local government reforms have been completed and second and/or third tier of self-government exists women have not reached as high level of representation as at local councils, with some indications that on the average the higher the tier of self-government the lower number of seats hold by women (e.g. Croatia, Poland, Romania). Large discrepancies among regions do however exist, and it is not unusual to find local units without any representations of women.

1.2.2. Causes

There are numerous possible explanations why women are more likely to be elected at the local level. Some research has indicated that local politics is often perceived by women as closer to "home", both in terms of physical distance and the actual meaning of political for women (being engaged in local community activities that often are located outside of formal political institutions). While the former indicates that when women are closer to home it is easier for them to juggle multivariate responsibilities of home, family, jobs and politics, the latter expresses very clearly that women often are predominantly interested in work that is relevant to lives of ordinary citizens. On the other hand it is pointed out that women's entrance into local level politics represents an indispensable step for women planning to engage in politics. Women can thus gain experiences and skills and begun to build their own networks - they develop a base that facilitates their political participation. In subsequent moves they are more likely to run for the higher office.

1.2.3. Positive developments and good practice

While specific measures for promoting increased women's participation in

elected bodies at a local level are not much developed, some countries provide training for women local leaders engaging them in advocacy and lobbying for social and economic rights (e.g. Baltic Republics, Belarus, Hungary, Poland, Ukraine).

1.3. Political Parties

1.3.1. Trends

As there is no tradition to reveal party membership data, it is difficult to provide a systematic analysis of women's positions within the party hierarchy. There is however a visible lack of women in party leadership positions. This is more particularly the case in political parties that exhibit strong nationalistic and patriarchal values.

Parties rarely focus their attention on the need to increase women's membership and prominence in leadership positions and even if they began to do so, often under pressures from NGOs, these plans are rarely enforced once the election passes. More often then not parties do not have women's sections and rarely focus their agendas on gender issues. If party programs do address gender and women's issues they tend to place them within larger familial and societal concerns, rather then by focusing on gender equality and equal opportunity or the need to eradicate women's right violations.

1.3.2. Causes

Rather often women with leadership skills are unwilling to link themselves too closely with any party, as they experience being constricted by the party structures and they resent the rigidity of party frameworks. Political parties on the other hand remain uninterested in women candidates as well as in women voters, believing that they can retain control almost solely based on male membership and male votes. This clashes however with the dramatic need for greater political involvement at a time when new legislation are voted on a daily bases, new political structures are being established and new policies are implemented.

1.3.3. Positive developments and good practice

Implementation of quotas in party structures has been discussed by parties in several countries (e.g. Croatia, Poland) and occasionally these debates resulted in implementation of such measures by individual party (e.g. as in Slovakia and in Slovenia where two parties stipulate balanced representation of women and men on party's internal candidate list or a maximum percentage of candidates of the same sex). However, such cases are very rare, they are not implemented at all party levels and it is not clear what impacts they do have on actual election results.

The establishment of women's parties while not a widespread phenomenon has emerged as a tool used by women to increase their political visibility and to include their concerns as a part of the public discourse. While their emergence did not result in major changes in voting behaviours and some parties survived only one term (e.g. Russia) they undoubtedly attracted attention and pointed to gendering of political landscape in new democracies (e.g. Ukraine).

Some parties have created women's sections within their structure in order to encourage women to join party ranks, increase women's role in political parties, advance women's agenda within party, increase the number of women candidates, and act as support group for women party members (e.g. Latvia, Lithuania, Central Asian Republics).

Also some countries of this part of the ECE region are considering the possibility to create an incentives system where those parties that promote women candidates are reimbursed for campaign costs, and to establish mechanisms that provide for gender balance in electoral lists (e.g. discussed in Lithuania, Poland, Romania).

2. Appointed bodies

2.1. Governmental Bodies

2.1.1. Trends

Women continue to occupy very few appointed governmental posts. Being appointed to a top governmental position or rising within the administrative hierarchy has been just as difficult for women as gaining seats in political institutions. Furthermore there seems to be no correlation between number of appointed women and the number of women elected representatives at the national level. There are visible differences in terms of senior level appointments between countries. It seems that the greater number of women occupying higher appointed or administrative posts is connected with the more advanced level of political, economic and social reforms that particular countries have achieved. But in all countries women are more likely to be appointed at the level of deputy minister, secretaries of state or lower than the ministerial level. In the public sector while the majority of employees in administration are women, they rarely occupy senior level posts. Furthermore job segregation can be observed with women more likely to occupy high-ranking positions in the area of education, health and welfare.

2.1.2. Causes

Gender stereotyping is the major barrier to greater women's participation in decision-making. Traditional treatment of women as lacking the abilities and

skills to participate in public sphere translated over time into stereotypes that indeed inhibit women's aspirations, capacities and self-image. In this context increasingly often it has been pointed out to the existence of the glass ceiling, whereby women cannot reach highest posts despite their unquestionable qualifications and often higher level of educational attainment. Unspoken and unwritten rules, patriarchal traditions and rigid organisational cultural practices are chief among factors preventing women's advancement in management and in administration. These are further reinforced by the lack of mechanisms and measures to eradicate gender inequalities.

2.1.3. Positive developments and good practices

A few countries are analysing possible positive measures which would obligate governments to appoint certain percentage of women to governmental posts (e.g. quotas - proposed 40% in Croatia, 30% in Bulgaria and in Kyrgyzstan). In a complementary way, several countries are considering the creation of a system that monitors on a yearly basis women's access, retention and promotion within governmental hierarchy, especially at the senior decision-making level (proposed in Bulgaria, Croatia, Czech Republic, Latvia, Kyrgyzstan, Romania, Russia). Some of them ale also envisaging to establish databases on women and their qualification for use in appointing women at the senior level and in strategic decision-making positions in government (including diplomacy) and judiciary. Several countries have undertaken programs of training and gender sensitisation for local media and local administration (police, judges, prosecutors, lawyers, managers) and local policy-makers (e.g. Poland). Finally a number of countries are encouraging the development of policy think-tanks and public policy institutes that incorporate gender policy issues into their mission, stimulates public debates and conducts long-term comparative research and policy analysis (e.g. Central Asian Republics, and, on a limited scale in Poland).

3. Non-governmental Organisations

During the last 10 years all countries of the region experienced a rapid development of NGOs. Women's NGOs and NGOs run by women made significant contributions to the process of strengthening civil society and the establishment of democracy. This unprecedented growth indicates a clear break from the past, when civil associations, organisations, neighbourhood groups both formal and informal were forbidden by law. Women's NGOs are increasingly recognised as key contributors to social policy, providers of services, and as political watchdogs. Often governments especially in preparation of National Plans of Actions have solicited their opinions. Increased involvement of women in NGOs is therefor a crucial step towards their active presence and participation in political decision-making.

Notes:

1. Nina Cecile Raum 'the Political Representation of women: a bird's eye view. In Lauri Karvonnen and Per Selle (Eds.) Women in Nordic Politics: Closing the Gap.

2. R. Matland. 1998. Enhancing Women's Political Participation: Legislative Recruitment and Electoral Systems, PP 65 - 90 of Azza Karam (ed.) Women in Parliament; Beyond Numbers. Stockholm: IDEA.

3. Ibid.

4. Inter-Parliamentary Union 1994. Plan of Action to Correct Present Imbalances in the participation of Men and Women in Political Life, Geneva.

WOMEN IN NATIONAL PARLIAMENTS AS AT 15 JANUARY 2000

Parliaments of countries members of the UN Economic Commission for Europe

55 countries in descending order of the percentage of women in the lower or single House

Statistics established by the IPU on the basis of data officially provided by National Parliaments

Ranking	Country (A total of 55 countries)	Lower or single House				Upper House or Senate			
		Elections	Seats	Women	% W	Elections	Seats	Women	% W
1	Sweden	09 1998	349	149	42.7	N.A.	—	—	—
2	Denmark	03 1998	179	67	37.4	N.A.	—	—	—
3	Finland	03 1999	200	74	37.0	N.A.	—	—	—
4	Norway	09 1997	165	60	36.4	N.A.	—	—	—
5	Netherlands	05 1998	150	54	36.0	05 1999	75	20	26.7
6	Iceland	05 1999	63	22	34.9	N.A.	—	—	—
7	Germany	09 1998	669	207	30.9	1999	69	41	59.4
8	Bosnia and Herzegovina	09 1998	42	12	28.6	09 1998	15	0	0.0
9	Austria	10 1999	183	49	26.8	1999	64	13	20.3
10	Turkmenistan	12 1999	50	13	26.0	N.A.	—	—	—
11	Belgium	06 1999	150	35	23.3	06 1999	71	20	28.2
12	Switzerland	10 1999	200	45	22.5	10 1999	46	9	19.6
13	Monaco	02 1998	18	4	22.2	N.A.	—	—	—
14	Spain	03 1996	348	75	21.6	03 1996	257	34	13.2
15	Canada	06 1997	301	62	20.6	1999	105	32	30.5
16	Croatia[a]	01 1999	127	26	20.5	01 1999	68	?	?
17	Portugal	10 1999	230	43	18.7	N.A.	—	—	—
18	United Kingdom	05 1997	659	121	18.4	N.A./11.1999	666	104	15.6
19	Estonia	03 1999	101	18	17.8	N.A.	—	—	—
20	Lithuania	10 1996	137	24	17.5	N.A.	—	—	—
21	Latvia	10 1998	100	17	17.0	N.A.	—	—	—
22	Luxembourg	06 1999	60	10	16.7	N.A.	—	—	—
23	Czech Republic	06 1998	200	30	15.0	11 1998	81	9	11.1
24	San Marino	05 1998	60	8	13.3	N.A.	—	—	—
24	United States of America	11 1998	435	58	13.3	11 1998	100	9	9.0
25	Poland	09 1997	460	60	13.0	09 1997	100	11	11.0
26	Slovakia	09 1998	150	19	12.7	N.A.	—	—	—
27	Azerbaijan	11 1995	125	15	12.0	N.A.	—	—	—
27	Ireland	06 1997	166	20	12.0	08 1997	60	11	18.3
28	Israel	05 1999	120	14	11.7	N.A.	—	—	—
29	Italy	04 1996	630	70	11.1	04 1996	326	26	8.0
30	France	05 1997	577	63	10.9	09 1998	321	19	5.9
31	Bulgaria	04 1997	240	26	10.8	N.A.	—	—	—
31	Kazakhstan	10 1999	74	8	10.8	09 1999	47	5	10.6
32	Malta	09 1998	65	6	9.2	N.A.	—	—	—
33	Republic of Moldova	03 1998	101	9	8.9	N.A.	—	—	—
34	Hungary	05 1998	386	32	8.3	N.A.	—	—	—
35	Slovenia	11 1996	90	7	7.8	N.A.	—	—	—
35	Ukraine	03 1998	450	35	7.8	N.A.	—	—	—
36	Russian Federation	12 1999	450	34	7.6	N.A./01.2000	178	1	0.6
37	The F.Y.R. of Macedonia	10 1998	120	9	7.5	N.A.	—	—	—
38	Romania	11 1996	343	25	7.3	11 1996	143	2	1.4
39	Georgia	10 1999	235	17	7.2	N.A.	—	—	—
40	Andorra	02 1997	28	2	7.1	N.A.	—	—	—
41	Greece	09 1996	300	19	6.3	N.A.	—	—	—
42	Cyprus	05 1996	56	3	5.4	N.A.	—	—	—
43	Albania	06 1997	155	8	5.2	N.A.	—	—	—
44	Yugoslavia	11 1996	138	7	5.1	03 1998	40	4	10.0
45	Belarus	11 1996	110	5	4.5	02 1997	63	19	30.2
46	Uzbekistan[a]	12 1999	250	11	4.4	N.A.	—	—	—
47	Turkey	04 1999	550	23	4.2	N.A.	—	—	—
48	Liechtenstein	02 1997	25	1	4.0	N.A.	—	—	—
49	Armenia	05 1999	131	4	3.1	N.A.	—	—	—
50	Tajikistan	02 1995	181	5	2.8	N.A.	—	—	—
51	Kyrgyzstan	02 1995	70	1	1.4	02 1995	35	4	11.4

[a] Subject to official confirmation